

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) PFOR ECOSOC SHUM

SUBJECT: ECOSOC: GOV. SCRANTON'S SPEECH ON DECADE

1. MAJOR ITEM ON AGENDA OF SPRING ECOSOC MEETING IN NEW YORK IS DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THIS PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED IN 1973 WITH FOCUS PRIMARILY ON SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID. ITEM HAS BEEN UNDER DEBATE FOR SEVERAL DAYS NOW WITH PRACTICALLY NO MENTION BY ARABS OR AFRICANS OF ZIONISM-EQUALS-RACISM RESOLUTION WHICH TRIGGERED OUR DISASSOCIATION LAST FALL FROM DECADE BECAUSE OF ITS DISTORTION OF MEANING OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

2. GOV. SCRANTON PLANS TO MAKE STATEMENT 3:00 PM (NY TIME) APRIL 28 DEFINING U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD DECADE AND RECALLING REASON FOR OUR NON-PARTICIPATION. STATEMENT EXPLAINS WHY WE DO NOT PLAN FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN ECOSOC ACTION UNDER DECADE ITEM. FOLLOWING TEXT HAS BEEN WORKED OUT CAREFULLY BETWEEN DEPARTMENT AND USUN AND NOW REPRESENTS WHAT GOV. SCRANTON WISHES TO SAY. TEXT
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FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT.

QTE. THE CREATION IN 1973 OF THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS THE PRODUCT OF CONSENSUS. EVERY MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SUPPORTED THIS PROGRAM. THE UNITED STATES PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN SHAPING THAT CONSENSUS, AND WE DID SO WITH ENTHUSIASM, WITH HOPE, AND WITH THAT MOST CRITICAL INGREDIENT, REALISM. WE, OURSELVES, WERE A FULL TWO DECADES INTO THE EFFORT TO INSTITUTIONALIZE THE RESULTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION THAT HAD BEEN SPARKED BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN BROWN V. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION. WE KNEW THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIFTING A MORAL PRINCIPLE TO THE LEVEL OF NATIONAL LAW AND THEN REDUCING IT TO THE LEVEL OF PARTICULARITY, TAKING THE IDEALS OF JUSTICE AND RACIAL EQUALITY AND MAKING THEM PART OF THE DAILY LIFE OF THE LAND.

WE KNOW THAT THIS IS A COMPLEX AND PAINFUL TASK, THAT EVEN SMALL STEPS STIR STRONG RESISTANCE, THAT TO PREVAIL WE MUST PERSIST, AND, MOST IMPORTANT, THAT OUR EFFORTS DEPEND CRUCIALLY ON DEVELOPING AND SUSTAINING A STRONG SUPPORTING CONSENSUS.

THERE HAS BEEN NO MORE DIFFICULT SOCIAL PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES THAN MAINTAINING THAT BASIC CONSENSUS AMONG THE PEOPLE, THEIR POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES, AMONG LAY LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP INSTITUTIONS. BUT WE HAVE DONE SO. AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO SO. FOR WITHOUT A GENERAL BELIEF THAT THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ARE CENTRAL GOALS OF OUR SOCIETY, RIGHTLY DEFINED AND FAIRLY PURSUED, OUR EFFORTS WOULD FALTER AND INEVITABLY FAIL.

OVER A PERIOD OF THIRTY YEARS, THE UNITED NATIONS BUILT AND MAINTAINED A SIMILAR CONSENSUS. THE EARLY WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ADOPTION OF THE CONVENTION TO ELIMINATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND THE LAUNCHING IN 1973 OF THE DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WERE ALL INSPIRED BY A COMMON COMMITMENT TO WORK AGAINST CERTAIN UNIVERSALLY DEFINED WRONGS.

WE AMERICANS COULD NOT BE TRUE TO OURSELVES IF WE FAILED TO SUPPORT EVERY PROPER EFFORT TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL. I HAVE IN MIND MOST PARTICULARLY ONE OF ITS WORST CONTEMPORARY

MANIFESTATIONS--APARTHEID. WE FLATLY AND ABSOLUTELY
OPPOSE APARTHEID. WE FIND THE PRACTICE ODIOUS. IT IS A

SYSTEM WHICH BRUTALIZES ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA --
BLACKS, COLOREDS, ASIANS AND WHITES. IT REMAINS MY
GOVERNMENT'S BELIEF THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE EXPOSED TO
RELENTLESS DEMANDS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY UNTIL THIS
DEPLORABLE SYSTEM IS ERADICATED. OUR FEELINGS EXTEND
BEYOND SOUTH AFRICA TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ANYWHERE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I MUST ALSO REAFFIRM THE UNITED STATES
POSITION REGARDING THE DECADE. THE UNWISE, UNJUST, AND
COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE ACTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN
ADOPTING RESOLUTION 3379, EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM
AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, DEFORMED THE MEANING OF THOSE
TERMS. IT DEMOLISHED THE UNITED NATIONS CONSENSUS ON
QUESTIONS RELATING TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

ZIONISM IS NOT RACISM. IT IS NOT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.
IT IS A JUSTIFIABLE AND UNDERSTANDABLE MANIFESTATION OF
NATIONAL FEELING ON THE PART OF A PEOPLE ENTITLED TO A
HOMELAND, WHOSE CLAIM TO A HOMELAND WAS RECOGNIZED BY
THE UNITED NATIONS ALMOST THIRTY YEARS AGO. THE FINAL
BORDERS OF THAT HOMELAND HAVE NOT BEEN AGREED UPON, AND
THE SEARCH FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THIS
DISPUTE HAS ABSORBED OUR ENERGIES AND ATTENTION FOR MANY
YEARS, BUT THIS EARLY ACT OF RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED
NATIONS IS NOT AT ISSUE. THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER
ACCEPT THE THESIS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379 --
ANY MORE THAN IT WOULD AGREE THAT OTHER LEGITIMATE NATIONAL
MOVEMENTS ARE TO BE CONDEMNED AS FORMS OF "RACISM" OR
"RACIAL DISCRIMINATION." THIS ATTITUDE IS NOT THE POLICY
OF A PARTICULAR ADMINISTRATION AT A PARTICULAR MOMENT. IT
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IS A VIEW STRONGLY HELD THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESS, THE
EXECUTIVE BRANCH, AND THE NATION.

BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES FELT SO STRONGLY ABOUT
RESOLUTION 3379, IT CONCLUDED AND ANNOUNCED THAT IT
COULD NO LONGER PARTICIPATE IN THE DECADE, OR SUPPORT IT,
OR SPECIFICALLY, ATTEND THE PLANNED CONFERENCE IN GHANA.
WE WILL ADHERE TO THIS POSITION. THE UNITED STATES
COULD RESUME ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE ONLY IF THE
DECADE WERE TO RETURN TO ITS ORIGINAL BASIS, WHICH WAS
ONCE ACCEPTED BY A BROAD CONSENSUS.

WHAT I HAVE SAID TODAY I HAVE SAID NOT OUT OF ANGER OR
SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS, BUT AS A DEEPLY-FELT EXPRESSION OF
CONCERN FOR THE INTEGRITY AND VITALITY OF THE UNITED

NATIONS SYSTEM. TOO MUCH IS AT STAKE, THE WORLD TOO
FILLED WITH POLITICAL STRIFE TO CONTINUE TO PERMIT THIS
GREAT FORUM TO BE USED TO INFLAME RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS
ANTAGONISMS. TOO MANY NATIONS AND PEOPLES SUFFER THE
CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY AND ECONOMIC INSTABILITY TO PERMIT
OUR TIME TO BE WASTED IN POLITICAL VILIFICATION. THAT
IS NO ANSWER. THE ANSWER IS STABLE AGREEMENTS REACHED
THROUGH CONSENSUS. END QUOTE. SISCO

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